Coins of the Musalmān Kings of Ma'bar.—*By* Chas. J. Rodgers, Esq., *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.*

[With two Plates.]

[Read April 1895.]

In the two plates which accompany this paper I have drawn some coins which were sent to me by the Rev. J. E. Tracy of Kodaikanal in the District of Madura, Madras Presidency. The last two coins, however, are from my old collection, now in the Lahore Museum. Each coin's weight is below it; the metal is above it. (M=mixed metal). T=Rev. J. E. Tracy. L. M.=Lahore Museum.

I will at once give the transcriptions of the legends and reserve my remarks on the kings to the end of this paper.

Plate IV	(1)	الامام العادل		محمد بن تغلق شاه
,,	(2)	do.		do.
,,	(3)	do.		
,,	(4)	جلال الدنيا و الدين		احسن شاه ۷۳۷
,,	(5)	السلطان الا عظم		احسن شاه السلطان
,,	(6)	سلطان السلاطين	In circular area :—	احسن شاه
			In margin :—	سنه... و ثلثين و سبعمايه (unit word not plain).
,,	(7)	علا الدنيا و الدين		اروحر شاه السلطان
,,	(8)	do.	In circular area :—	اروحر شاه
			In margin :—	سنه اربعين و سبعمايه
,,	(9)	قطب الدنيا و الدين		فيروز شاه ۷۴۰
,,	(10)	السلطان الا عظم غياث الدنيا و الدين	In circular area :—	محمد دامغان شاه
			In margin :—	سنه احدى اربعين و سبعمايه

(Note to (7) and (8): اروحر has been read اروجي)

Plate IV	(11)	السلطان الاعظم	غياث الدنيا و الدين
,,	(12)	In circular area :— ناصرالدنيا و الدين	
		In margin :—	
		سنه خمس (؟) اربعين و سبعمایه [1]	محمود عيال دامغانشاه السلطان
,,	(13)	السلطان الاعظم	عادلشاه السلطان
,,	(14)	۷۵۷ (?) السلطان الحليم	In circular area :— عادل شاه
			In margin :— سنه تسع وخمسين و سبعمایه
,,	(15)	السلطان الاعظم	عادلشاه السلطان
,,	(16)	do.	do.
,,	(17)	do.	do.
,,	(18)	برگزیده الله	خادم مصطفى ۷٦٥
Plate V	(19)	do.	۷٦۷ do.
,,	(20)	do.	۷۷۰ do.
,,	(21)	محمد مصطفى	۷٦٥ ....
,,	(22)	برگزیده رحمان	سکندر شاه سلطان ۷۷۹
,,	(23)	برگزیده الله فخرشاه	مبارکشاه شاه جهان ...
,,	(24)	السلطان الاعظم	نصرة الدنيا و الدين
,,	(25)	do.	شمس الدنيا و الدين
,,	(26)	برگزیده الله فخر شا (ه شاهان)	مبارکشاه شاه جهان
,,	(27)	do. full	do.
,,	(28)	do.	do.
,,	(29)	برگزیده رحمان	سکندر شاه سلطان ۷۷۴
,,	(30)	do.	do.
,,	(31)	برگزیده الله فخر شا..	مبارکشاه شاه جهان ۷٦٥
,,	(32)	الواثق بنصر الله ۷۳۳	محمد بن تغلق شاه
,,	(33)	السلطان الاعظم	جلال الدنيا و الدين
,,	[2] (34)	غاث الدنيا و الدين	محمد ابن السلطان
,,	(35)	علا الدنيا و الدين	سکندر شاه السلطان
,,	(36)	ناصر الدنيا و الدين	ابو الفتح اسمعيل شاه

[1] The word خمس is legible on a coin since sent by Mr. Tracy.

[2] This coin was sent me after my paper had been sent to the Society.

These coins supply us with matter for a small history of Ma'bar (معبر). They give us names and they give us dates. Coins (1) to (3) are two varieties of a type of Muḥammad bin Tug͟hlaq, not mentioned by Thomas and not found in any bazār of Northern India. They are of Ma'bar fabric, and show that that Sulṭān held sway in the South of India. Coin No. (32) is one mentioned by Thomas, but he reads the obverse الواثق بمصر الله and his coin is dated 730 Ḥ. This type is not in the British Museum, neither is it in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There is one in the Lahore Museum, Rodgers' collection (Muḥammad bin Tug͟hlaq's No. 30). But this has no date, and the obverse legend is in a double circle and the reverse in a single one. We may regard this coin (32), therefore, as a Ma'bar coin of Muḥammad bin Tug͟hlaq, struck in 733 H.

Coin (4) is one of Jalālu-d-dunyā-wa-ud-dīn Aḥsan S͟hāh struck in 737 Ḥ. So is coin (5). Coin (6) is a third variety of the same Sulṭān. Here he calls himself the 'Sulṭān of Sulṭāns.' The date is given in Arabic words in the margin, but the unit word is not plain. The ثلثين 'thirty,' is plain. Coin (40) is a fourth type of this king's coins.

In Elliot's History of India, Vol. III., p. 618, we find the following, taken from the French translation of Ibn i Batūtah. 'The Sulṭān had appointed the *S͟harīf* Jalālu-d-dīn Aḥsan S͟hāh to be governor of the country of Ma'bar which is at the distance of six months' journey from Dehlī.[1] This Jalālu-d-dīn rebelled, usurped the ruling power, killed the lieutenants and agents of the sovereign, and struck in his own name gold and silver money. On one side of the coins[2] there was impressed the following (letters): *ṭo'e* and *he*, *ye* and *sīn* (these letters, which form the titles of the 20th and 26th chapters of the Qu'rān are among the epithets bestowed upon Muḥammad), and (the words) "father of *faqīrs* and of the indigent, the glory of the world and of religion." On the other face the following: "He who puts his trust in the help of the all merciful, Aḥsan S͟hāh, Sulṭān." The Sulṭān, when he was informed of this revolt, set forth to suppress it.'

We know that Muḥammad bin Tug͟hlaq never got any further than Talingāna. His army was there attacked by cholera, and he returned to Daulatābād. Firis͟hta gives us the year 742 Ḥ. as the date of this expedition and calls the rebel ruler 'Sayyid Ḥasan.' Now Captain Tufnell says the dates 738 and 740 appear on the silver coins of Jalālu-d-din. And Ibn-i-Batūtah says that when Jalālu-d-din died, 'he appointed as his successor, Alaioddin, one of his Amīrs. After this,

[1] Further on he says Ma'bar is three months' march from the capital of Tilang.

[2] No coins have yet been found bearing these legends. They were probably the large silver and gold coins, which the Ṣarrāfs melted down.

his brother's son Kotboddīn came to the supreme rule.'[1] The coins we have give us the name of 'Alāu-d-dīn, Arōḥar Shāh or Adūjī Shāh, and his date in the margin of (8) as 740 Ḥ. Coin (9) gives us the dates of Quṭbu-d-dīn as 740 (the ۴ is reversed on the coin) and his successor was [1]Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Dāmghānī, an Amīr of Jalālu-d-din to whose daughter he was married; and on coin (10) we find in the margin the date 741 Ḥ. in Arabic words. Now all this is plain sailing. Jalālu-d-dīn died in 740 Ḥ. 'Alāu-d-dīn could have reigned but a few months of the same year. Quṭbu-d-dīn reigned only 40 days and was murdered by his subjects.[1] His coin is dated 740 Ḥ. Dāmghānī succeeded him in the same year. Coins (10), (11) and (34) are of this king.

Coin (12) is one of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd,[1] nephew of Dāmghānī. I read his date in the margin as 745 Ḥ., but have doubts about the unit word. Ibn i Batūtah left Ma'bar in this Sulṭān's reign. Coins (13) (14) (15) (16) and (17) are of 'Ādil Shāh. He calls himself the "meek" (حليم) Sulṭān on (14). On this coin is a date in the margin 759 Ḥ. Three marks on the obverse may be ۷۵۷, but they are probably diacritical marks.

Coins (18) to (21) have no king's name on them, but they have dates 765, 767, 770. برگزیدهٔ الله or 'The Elect of God' and خادم مصطفی 'the slave of the Chosen-one' are the names or titles on these coins. Now (31) is of the date 765Ḥ., and gives the name of the king as Mubārak Shāh, King of the World (مبارکشاه شاه جهان), and his title on the other side is برگزیدهٔ الله with an addition فخر شاه شاهان or 'the Glory of the King of kings.' Coins (23) (26) (27) (28) help us in this assignment of all these to one king—Mubārak Shāh.

There are three other dated coins (29) and (30) of برگزیدهٔ رحمان. or 'The elect of the Merciful,' Sikandar Shāh. One is dated 774 Ḥ: (22) is of the same type, but is dated 779Ḥ. (35) is another type of this king's coins.

We have still left two coins (24) and (25) of Naṣratu-d-dīn and Shamsu-d-dīn respectively.[2] These coins are of persons of whom we know absolutely nothing. There are no other types of them to help us with dates.

Coin (36) is still left to be considered. Its legends are plain ناصرالدنیا والدین ابو الفتح اسمعیل شاه. Amongst the nobles who rebelled

[1] Dr. Lee's Ibn i Batūtah, Chap. XX.

[2] Firishta has, و شهاب سلطان را نصرت خان خطاب داده ولایت بیدر حواله او نمود This may be the man who struck (24). It is within the bounds of possibility that (24) and (36) were struck by one and the same king.

against Muḥammad bin Tug͟hlaq was one who is styled by Firis͟hta 'Ism'aīl Fatḥ brother of Gul Affg͟hān' and it is added :—

بپادشاهي برداشته نصيرالدين خطاب كردند ٠

* بيت * سمعيل فتح را دران دارد گير

بشاهي بخواندند شاه نصيـــر

All throughout Firis͟hta calls him 'Ism'aīl Fatḥ.' He did not enjoy being king in such troublous times and he resigned. Ḥasan Gāngō was elected in his place. This was in 748. So this coin (36) must have been struck about 747 or 48Ḥ. It does not really, therefore, belong to the kings of Ma'bar.

It will be noticed that the first king of Ma'bar was Jalālu-d-dīn Aḥsan S͟hāh. His reign was from 737 to 740Ḥ., according to coins. Now Ḥasan Gāngō became independent in 848Ḥ. He made Gulburga his capital and called it Ḥasanābād. So says Firis͟hta, who quotes a lot of poetry in which Ḥasan and Ḥasanābād frequently occur. But as on the coins of the dynasty of Ḥasan, Gulburga is always called احسن اباد Aḥsanābād, the full name of this sovereign was ''Alāu-d-dunyā-wa-ud-dīn Aḥsan S͟hāh Gāngō Bahmanī.' We must not suppose that Jalālu-d-dīn had anything to do with Aḥsanābād. He was only king in Ma'bar, which is a long way from Gulburga. Ma'bar seems to have been that part of India opposite Ceylon, and Madura was its capital. When Ḥasan Gāngō reigned in Aḥsanābād, he never seems to have taken any notice whatever of Ma'bar and its affairs. All the descendants of Ḥasan are well known. They also abstained from meddling in Ma'bar matters.

One thing at first seems strange. The coins of the kings of Ma'bar are found apparently in abundance. The coins of early kings of the Bahmanī dynasty of Gulburga-Aḥsanābād are amongst the rare things in our Museum cabinets. The reason is given by Firis͟hta. The Bahmanī kings quarrelled with the Ṣarrāfs and murdered a lot of them. Coins of Hindū kings were melted down, and only Muhammadan coins were allowed. When the Ṣarrāfs, however, got a chance they melted down Muhammadan coins and made current Hindū ones. In this general melting down Muhammadan Dekkan coins disappeared. The Honorable Mr. Gibbs rescued a few of them, but nowadays an early Bahmanī gold or silver coin is rarely met with.

For nearly all the coins in these two plates I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. J. E. Tracy, who kindly permitted me to draw them. For coins (35) and (36) I am indebted to the Lahore Museum. When I made out my Catalogue, I put down coin (36) as an unassigned

coin. I met with the name of Ism'aīl Fatḥ in reading the story of Ḥasan Gāngō.

We may now sum up what these coins teach us. They simply record the fact (1) that Muḥammad bin Tughlaq held possession of Ma'bar, and (2) that the following kings reigned there :—

Jalālu-d-dīn Aḥsan Shāh ...	737—740 Ḥ.	
'Alāu-d-dīn Aroḥar or Adūjī Shāh	740 Ḥ.	
Quṭbu-d-dīn Fīrūz Shāh ...	740 Ḥ.	
Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad Dāmghān Shāh	740 Ḥ to—	
Nāṣiru-d-dīn Muḥammād Shāh ...	745 Ḥ.	
'Ādil Shāh, the Meek ...	759 Ḥ.	
Mubārak Shāh, King of the World &c.	765—770 Ḥ.	
'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh ...	774—779 Ḥ.	
Naṣratu-d-dīn		(in Beder ?)
Shamsu-d-dīn		
Nāṣiru-d-dīn Ism'aīl Fatḥ ...	747–8 Ḥ.	(in Gulburga.)

Captain Tufnell in "Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India" was the first to bring these coins to notice. I think that if he had had better coins he would have avoided some mistakes in the coins of the latter kings. He did not read one margin: we have seen that they afford considerable help as they yield dates. He took برگزیده for بن کریده and رحمان for the name of a king. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā and Khādim i Muṣṭafā were also made into kings. We know them only as names or titles assumed by the very pious but somewhat vainglorious Mubārak Shāh. Fakhr and Shāh Jahān were made into kings also, by Captain Tufnell. Two coins not in our plates were given by him ; one has عادل on one side with an illegible margin ; on the reverse is شاه in a circle. Another has in large letters on one side عادلشاه ; the other side is not given. A third coin seems to read فخرالدنیا و الدین and السلطان الاعظم. If this be correct we must admit Fakhru-d-dīn into the list of kings of Ma'bar.

I may add that it was from Captain Tufnell and from Messrs T. M. Ranga Chari, B. A., and T. Desika Chari, B. A., that I first of all became acquainted with these coins. The coins in my Lahore Collection, from South India, came from these three gentlemen.

The present paper owes its existence solely to the courtesy of the Rev. J. E. Tracy, M.A.